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TRIPLE R

WHY CLINTON IS RIDING HIGH

Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

Why have damning revelations failed to hurt Bill Clinton's popularity, and even increased it? Most theories, and there are hundreds, overlook two central features of our political environment: the public's entrenched distrust of government power, and Clinton's remarkable ability to appear personally detached from the government he heads.

Put the two together, and it's easy to identify one reason Clinton's approval rating has soared. He's perceived as a victim of snooping belligerents, who are prying into matters most Americans think should be private.

What's more, his main victimizer is a federal cop armed with wire taps, subpoena power, and legal trickery, not to speak of a gaggle of government lawyers and FBI agents. Kenneth Starr even looks like a typical G-Man, a steely-eyed enforcer most Americans would be loath to have examine them.

The entire Starr procedure violates Americans' innate sense that sexual impropriety ought to be dealt with by the family and the church, not the government-media combine. There's not even news value: everyone knows politicians screw around and lie about it.

Sensing this, the White House has gone on the offensive, with spokesmen invoking against Starr Lord Acton's dictum about power corrupting. Ironically, then, Clinton benefits from the public cynicism and hatred of government he has so often decried.

Spying and intimidation–key features of the Lewinsky investigation–are two ways the leviathan state maintains its unjust control over the country. In the war on drugs, the government has abolished a host of rights once taken for granted, and the tax police now know every detail of our finances, and scrutinize every dime we spend.

Nothing is more disgusting than the rise of the federal sting operation, complete with informants and plants and grants of immunity for turncoats. They trick you into breaking some technicality, and then threaten to lock you up with a bunch of rapists unless you turn in all your friends. It's a Soviet tactic.

Starr had planned to wire Monica Lewinsky so she could trick Bill Clinton and Vernon Jordan into incriminating themselves. If it had worked, Clinton might be even more popular. Sting operations have run wild. The mild-mannered customer in the gun store could be an ATF agent. The scruffy guy trying to rent an apartment could be a HUD "tester." The unruly crowd demanding quick service at a busy restaurant could be planning an EEOC class-action suit.

Every dissident political movement is littered with federal cops. Who hasn't wondered, after expressing a hard-nosed opinion on the phone, if *they* are listening? Our worst nightmare is our best friend, to whom we confided intimate details of our life, spying on us for some monstrous federal agency.

And what is this "subpoena power" anyway? Can any American

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INTELLIGENCE BRIEFINGS WILL RESUME NEXT MONTH

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be dragged into the Starr chamber and told to confess all, on penalty of jail for getting some small detail wrong? One day Betty Currie was a loyal secretary; the next, she was psychically tortured to remember things she'd sooner forget. Is this our future as well?

In decrying Starr's power and tactics, the White House taps into massive public resentment of the government. The message is: just as the feds invade your life, family, and finances, Starr is intruding into Clinton's marriage and trying to make vice a hanging offense.

How can Clinton, as head of state, get away with this? Like Ronald Reagan, he has mastered the art of presiding over big government while seeming to be separate from it. He reinforces this when he brags about cutting government back to its smallest size in generations. That this is sheer nonsense doesn't matter; it's impressions that count.

The big-media pile-on has also helped Clinton. They use the excuse of Clinton's sex practices to pour filth into our homes. Why must we hide the morning newspaper so the kids won't see it? Do we really need network broadcasters discussing sexual techniques on prime time?

The American people's revulsion at the government-media cartel is understandable, but it misses a crucial distinction. Government, particularly the presidency, needs to be policed; it's the rest of us who don't. But so long as he can keep pretending to be part of the rest of us, roasting on a federal spit for vices not crimes, Clinton will get public sympathy. Look who's after him. RRR

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THE TROUBLE WITH CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

Hans-Hermann Hoppe

Classical liberalism has been in decline for more than a century, and socialist ideas have increasingly shaped public affairs. To be sure, this decline has not been continuous. After World War II, West Germany and Italy were significantly liberalized as compared to national socialism and fascism, as were the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as compared to communism. Yet in each case, another variant of socialism, i.e., social democracy, was adopted, as exemplified by the U.S.

Indeed, so complete has been the socialist victory that today, at the close of the twentieth century, some neo-conservatives have waxed triumphantly about the "End of History" and the arrival of the "Last Man," i.e., of permanent, global, U.S.-supervised social democracy and a new *homo socio-democraticus.*

Why We're Losing

Since we know that the course of human history is determined by ideas rather than "blind forces," and that historical changes are the result of ideological shifts in public opinion, we must understand the socialist transformation of the last hundred years as the result of classical liberalism's philosophical defeat. Given this, we can react in two ways. We can maintain that (classical) liberalism is a sound doctrine, and that the public rejects it in spite of its truth. In this case, we must explain not only why people cling to false beliefs, even if they are aware of correct liberal ideas. Does the truth not always hold its own attraction and rewards? But we must also explain why liberal truth is increasingly rejected in favor of socialist falsehood. Did the population become more degenerate? If so, how can this be explained? On the other hand–and this is what I propose to do–we may consider the rejection as indicating a fundamental error in classical liberalism.

Classical liberalism's central, momentous error lies in its theory of government. Classical-liberal political philosophy–as personified by Locke and Jefferson–was first a

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moral doctrine. Drawing on the philosophy of the Stoics and the late Scholastics, it centered on the ideas of self-ownership, original appropriation of nature-given, unowned resources, private property, and contract as universal human rights implied in the nature of man as a rational animal.

In an environment of royal rulers, this emphasis on the universality of human rights placed the liberal philosophy in radical opposition to every established government. For a liberal, every man, whether king or peasant, was subject to the same universal and eternal principles of justice, and a government either could derive its justification from a contract between private property owners or else it could not be justified at all. But could any government be so justified?

The liberal answer started with the proposition that, mankind being what it is, we will always have murderers, robbers, thieves, thugs, and con artists. In order to maintain a liberal social order, it is necessary that its members be able to compel, by the threat or application of violence, anyone who will not respect the life and property of others, to acquiesce in the rules of society. From this correct premise, liberals went on to conclude that maintaining law and order is the function of government.

Whether this conclusion is correct or not hinges on the definition of government. It is correct, if government means any individual or firm that provides protection and security services to a voluntary clientele of private-property owners. However, this was not the definition of government adopted by liberals. For a classical liberal, government, unlike a normal firm, possesses a compulsory monopoly jurisdiction and the right to tax. But any such institution is incompatible with the protection of property.

According to liberal doctrine, private property rights precede—logically and temporally—any government. Thus, to meet the demand for protection, it would be economically likely for specialized individuals or agencies to arise to provide protection, insurance, and arbitration services for a fee to voluntary clients.

Classical liberalism's central, momentous error lies in its theory of government.

It is inconceivable that private property owners would enter a contract that entitled another agent to compel anyone within a given territory to come exclusively to it for protection and judicial decision-making, barring any other agent from offering protection services.

Such monopoly-contracts imply that every private property owner has surrendered his right to ultimate decision making, and the protection of his person and property permanently to someone else. In effect, a person would be submitting himself to slavery.

According to liberal doctrine, any such submission is null and void, because it contradicts the logical foundation of all contracts, i.e., private property and individual self-ownership. No one rightfully can render his person and property permanently defenseless against the actions of someone else. Similarly inconceivable is the notion that anyone would endow his monopolistic protector with the permanent right to tax. No one would enter a contract that allowed one's protector to determine unilaterally the sum he must pay for protection.

Since Locke, classical liberals have tried to solve this internal contradiction through "implicit" or "conceptual" constitutions. Yet all of these characteristically tortuous and confused attempts have only added to the same unavoidable conclusion: That it is impossible to derive a justification for government from explicit contracts between private property owners.

The Fatal Embrace

Liberalism was destroyed by its acceptance of government as consistent with self-ownership, original appropriation, property, and contract.

First, it follows from the initial error concerning the moral status of government that the liberal solution to the eternal human problem of security—a constitutionally limited government—is an impossible ideal. For every minimal government has the inherent tendency to become a maximal government.

Once the principle of government—judicial monopoly and the power to tax—is admitted as just, any notion of restraining government power is illusory. Predictably, under monopolistic conditions, the price of justice and protection will rise, and the quality of justice and protection fall.

A tax-funded protection agency is a contradiction in terms—an expropriating property protector—and will inevitably lead to more taxes

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and less protection. Even if, as liberals have proposed, a government is limited in its activities exclusively to the protection of pre-existing private property rights, the further question of how much security to produce would arise.

Motivated (like everyone else) by self-interest and reluctance to work, but with the unique power to tax, a government agent's answer will invariably be the same: to maximize expenditures on protection–and almost all of a nation's wealth can conceivably be consumed by the cost of protection–and at the same time to minimize the production of protection. The more money one can spend and the less one must work to produce, the better off one will be.

Moreover, a judicial monopoly will inevitably lead to a steady deterioration in the quality of protection. If no one can appeal for justice except to government, justice will be perverted in favor of the government, constitutions and supreme courts notwithstanding. Constitutions and supreme courts are government constitutions and agencies. Predictably, the definition of property and protection will continually be altered, and the range of jurisdiction expanded, to the government's advantage.

Secondly, it follows also from the error regarding the moral status of government that the traditional liberal preference for local, decentralized and territorially small, government is inconsistent and contradictory. Every local government has an inherent tendency toward centralization and ultimately world government.

Once it is incorrectly admitted that in order to protect and enforce peaceful cooperation between two individuals A and B, it is justified and necessary to have a judicial monopolist X, a twofold conclusion follows. If more than one territorial monopolist exists, X, Y, and Z, then, just as there can presumably be no peace among A and B without X, so can there be no peace among the monopolists X, Y, and Z as long as they remain in a "state of anarchy" to each other. Hence, all political centralization and unification, and ultimately the establishment of a single world government, is justified and necessary.

Democratic equality before the law is incompatible with the idea of one universal law, equally applicable to everyone.

Lastly, it follows from the error of accepting government as just that the ancient idea of the universality of human rights and the unity of law is confused and, under the heading of "equality before the law," transformed into a vehicle for egalitarianism.

As opposed to the anti-egalitarian or even aristocratic sentiment of old liberals, once the idea of universal human rights is combined with government, the result will be egalitarianism and the destruction of human rights.

Once a government has been incorrectly assumed as just, and hereditary princes ruled out as incompatible with the idea of universal human rights, the question of how to square government with the idea of the universality and equality of human rights arises. The liberal answer is to open participation and entry into government on equal terms to everyone, via democracy. Everyone–not just the hereditary class of nobles–is permitted to become a government official and exercise every government function.

However, this democratic equality before the law is incompatible with the idea of one universal law, equally applicable to everyone, everywhere, and at all times. In fact, the former inequality of the higher law of kings vs. the subordinate law of ordinary subjects is fully preserved under democracy in the separation of public vs. private law, and the supremacy of the former over the latter.

Under democracy, everyone is equal insofar as entry into government is open to all on equal terms. In a democracy no privileged persons exist. However, functional privileges and privileged functions exist. As long as they act in official capacity, public officials are governed and protected by public law and occupy a privileged position vis-a-vis persons acting under the authority of mere private law (most fundamentally in being permitted to support their own activities by taxes imposed on private law subjects).

Privileges and legal discrimination will not disappear. To the contrary. Rather than being restricted to princes and nobles, privileges, protectionism, and legal discrimination will be available to all and can be exercised by everyone.

Predictably, under democratic conditions the tendency of every

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monopoly—to increase prices and decrease quality—will be only stronger and more pronounced. As hereditary monopolist, a king or prince regarded the territory and people under his jurisdiction as his personal property and engaged in the monopolistic exploitation of his "property." Under democracy, monopoly and monopolistic exploitation does not disappear. Even if everyone is permitted to enter government, this does not eliminate the distinction between the rulers and the ruled. Government and the governed are not one and the same. Instead of a prince who regards the country as his private property, a temporary and interchangeable caretaker is put in monopolistic charge of the country.

If taxation is just, then more taxation is also just.

The caretaker does not own the country, but as long as he is in office he is permitted to use it to his and his protégés' advantage. He owns its current use but not its capital stock. This will not eliminate exploitation. To the contrary, it will make exploitation less calculating and carried out with little or no regard to the capital stock, i.e., short-sighted. Moreover, with free entry into government the perversion of justice will proceed even faster. Instead of protecting pre-existing private property rights, democratic government becomes a machine for the continual redistribution of pre-existing property rights in the name of illusory "social security," until the idea of universal and immutable human rights disappears and is replaced by that of law as positive government-made legislation.

The Future of Freedom

On account of its fundamental error regarding the moral status of government, classical liberalism actually contributed to the destruction of everything it had originally set out to preserve and protect: liberty and property. Once the principle of government had been accepted, it was only a matter of time until the ultimate triumph of socialism over liberalism. The present neo-conservative "End of History" of global U.S.-enforced social democracy is the result of two centuries of liberal confusion.

Liberalism in its present form thus has no future. Or rather, its future is social democracy.

Once the premise of government is accepted, liberals are left without argument when socialists pursue this premise to its logical end. If monopoly is just, then centralization is just. If taxation is just, then more taxation is also just. And if democratic equality is just, then the expropriation of private property owners is just, too (while private property is not). Indeed what can a liberal say in favor of less taxation and redistribution? If he admits that taxation and monopoly are just, then he has no principled moral case to make. To lower taxes is not a moral imperative. Rather, the liberal case is exclusively an economic one. For instance, lower taxes will produce certain long-run economic benefits. However, at the same time lower taxes also imply economic costs, at least in the short-run and for some people (the current tax recipients).

In this situation, democratic socialists seem more up-front, consistent, and consequential, while classical liberals come across as starry-eyed, confused, and unprincipled or even opportunistic. They accept the basic premise of the current order of democratic government, but then constantly lament its anti-liberal outcome.

If liberalism is to have any future, it must repair its fundamental error. Liberals will have to recognize that no government can be contractually justified, that every government is destructive of what they want to preserve, and that the production of security can only be rightfully and effectively undertaken by a system of competitive security suppliers. That is, liberalism will have to be transformed into private-property anarchism, as first outlined nearly 150 years ago by Gustave de Molinari and in our own time fully elaborated by Murray Rothbard.

Such a theoretical transformation would have an immediate two-fold effect. On the one hand, it would lead to a purification of the contemporary liberal movement. Social democrats in liberal clothes and many high-ranking liberal government functionaries would swiftly disassociate themselves from this new movement. On the other hand, the transformation would lead to the systematic radicalization of the liberal movement. For those members of the movement who still hold on to the classic notion of universal human rights and the idea that self-ownership and private

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We propose unlimited secession, the unrestricted proliferation of independent free territories.

property rights precede all government and legislation, the transition from liberalism to private-property anarchism is only a small intellectual step, especially in light of the obvious failure of democratic government to provide the only service that it was ever intended to provide (that of protection).

Private-property anarchism is simply consistent liberalism, liberalism thought through to its ultimate conclusion, liberalism restored to its original intent. However, this small theoretical step would have momentous practical implications.

In taking this step, liberals would renounce their allegiance to the present system, denounce democratic government as illegitimate, and reclaim their right to self-protection. Politically, with this step they would return to the very beginnings of liberalism as a revolutionary creed. In denying the validity of all hereditary privileges, classical liberals were placed in fundamental opposition to all established governments.

Of course, by itself the renewed radicalism of the liberal movement would be of little consequence (although as the American Revolution teaches, radicalism may well be popular). Instead, it is the inspiring vision of a fundamental alternative to the present system, which flows from this new radicalism, that will finally break the social-democratic machine.

Like their classic forebears, new liberals do not seek to takeover government. They ignore government. They only want to be left alone by government, and secede from its jurisdiction to organize their own protection. Unlike their predecessors who merely sought to replace a larger government with a smaller one, new liberals pursue the logic of secession to its end. They propose unlimited secession, the unrestricted proliferation of independent free territories, until the state's range of jurisdiction finally withers away.

To this end–and in complete contrast to the statist projects of "European integration" and a "New World Order"–new liberals promote the vision of a world of tens of thousands of free countries, regions, and cantons, of hundreds of thousands of independent free cities –such as the present-day Monaco, Andorra, San Marino, Liechtenstein, and Singapore–and even more numerous free districts and neighborhoods, economically integrated through free trade (the smaller the territory, the greater the economic pressure to opt for free trade!) and an international gold standard.

If and when this alternative vision gains prominence in public opinion, the end of the social democratic "End of History" will have arrived, and a liberal renaissance begun. RRR

Professor Hoppe gratefully dedicates this article to his Anonymous Benefactor.

HEBREWS AND CHRISTIANS

Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn

The relationship between these two has so many theological, historical, sociological, biological, political, and ideological aspects that one should not be surprised at the simply colossal amount of passionate rather than dispassionate nonsense that has been spoken and written about it. To make matters worse, the "issues" involved have changed and are still changing constantly. The "problem" is also different in the various countries and cultures.

"Anti-Semitism" Predates Christianity

Let us start out by remembering that an antagonism to Hebrews existed in Antiquity even before the rise of Christianity. The main reason for this was on one side their religious exclusiveness (which went hand in hand with the belief that they were the Chosen People) and their very involved ritualistic prescriptions which prevented them from "mixing" in any way with their surroundings.

The first problem they shared with the Christians who aroused similar feelings in pagan cultures. We too are, after all, the *theou laos*, "God's Chosen People" or, to be more explicit, the New Zion, yet Christ foretold in so many words that we will be persecuted for our convictions. On the other hand, we had no specific ethnic background

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and not the abounding ritualisms (adhered to by orthodox Hebrews) and thus externally we could associate more easily with our neighbors. The laws of Deuteronomy had few effects on us. Still, the Old Testament for us was and is meaningful, and the pagan world started out to consider us a mere "Hebrew sect." Later they came to see us as a real challenge. We missionized them to a degree the Hebrews never did, although they also had their "proselytes."

Christians made a mistake which the Reformation aggravated.

The Christian Mistake

Things changed when the "Western World" became Christianized, when Emperor Constantine made Christianity the official religion of the state and the Hebrews in dispersion could be found all over the Roman Empire which, after all, had annexed Palestine. Interestingly enough, the Hebrews in their "*Galut*" (exile) followed the Christians wherever they migrated. From the "Mediterranean" Roman Empire to Northern Europe, to the Germanies, to Scandinavia, to Eastern Europe, the British Isles, then to South America and North America, to Australia, to South Africa. The Cross seemed to attract them magically. (Surprising? It is the symbol of their Messiah!)

Yet Christians made a mistake which the Reformation aggravated. They accused the living Jews as being responsible for the death of their own Messiah, of the Son of God, in other words of "deicide"—and this, although a sin or a guilt cannot be inherited, only its consequences. ("Original Sin" is merely a "Sin at the Origin" whose results we inherited.) To make matters even worse the Gospels were wrongly understood. Not the "Jews" howled for the execution of Our Lord, but members of *one* tribe, of the Judeans.[1] We, however, must realize that to pious Judeans Christ's claim to be God's Son was so incredibly and outrageously blasphemous, that the worst form of death was for Him in their eyes a just punishment.

We too have to follow Christ's words: "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they do!" Somebody might ask naively, why seeing and hearing Our Lord they did not convert, but we must remember that He told Peter, who uttered his belief in Christ's divine origin, that not flesh and blood had revealed this to him, but "my Father who is in Heaven." (Matthew 16: 16-17) This should remind us that the unbeliever is not necessarily guilty. Belief is also a matter of Grace.

The reader of the Bible is aware of the fact that historically the Hebrews comprised 12 tribes of whom the Judeans were just one. It is true that they were very proud, looked down at the others, since Jerusalem was their capital and their kings had ruled over a larger area. Of course Christ on his mother's side was a Judean, and so was Joseph, thus both belonging to the Judean tribe,[2] although they were residents of Galilee.[3] Yet the Christians in the Middle Ages saw in "the Jews" the descendants of the culprits, and in the Bible translations, the Judeans figured as "Jews." This was true of pre-Reformation translations, but we find the same *inexcusable* mistake in the Luther-Bible, the King James, and even in the Douay Version, a truly fatal error.[4] Hence my habit to write like Saint Paul of

[1]The Vulgate translated correctly from the Greek, but I have never seen a correct text that originated in the last 500 years!

[2]That the Holy Virgin also was of Davidic origin is implied by the words of Gabriel, who mentions the "throne of David, His father" (Luke 1: 32). Here we have to bear in mind that Joseph and Mary were to the Israelites persons of royal descent. Christ, too, was repeatedly called "Son of David." (Hence also His difficulty in insisting that His Kingdom was not of this world.) Joseph was *oikodómos*, which could be translated in many ways (also with architect) and he certainly owned real estate in Bethlehem. The Magi visited the Child in Joseph's house (vide Matthew 2: 11), not in the stable.

Mary's relatives, Zachary and Elizabeth, belonged to the highest Hebrew social layers. The Romans tried to find out, roughly in the year AD 100, if there still existed Davidic descendants, but they found only two very old men without children. See Paul Gaechter, SJ, *Das Mädchen Marjam* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia: 1970). Sorry, we cannot "proletarianize" the Holy Family!

[3]Galilee was less proud than Judea. Its full name was *Galil-ha-goyim*, "county of the aliens," since it had an ethnically mixed population. The Samaritans, however, were not all accepted by the Judeans.

[4]The Greek term *ioudaioi* has correctly been translated into the Latin *iudaei*, but even the modern *Bible de Jérusalem* falls into the same old trap in translating the Gospel of St. John. All this is evident when we hear that Christ's disciples warned Him not to go to Jerusalem, because the *Judeans* wanted to stone Him (John 11: 7-8). And St. Paul prides himself on being an Israelite, a Hebrew of the tribe of Benjamin, but that the Judeans beat him mercilessly (2 Corinthians 11: 22-24 to be supplemented with Philippians 3:5).

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"Israelites" or "Hebrews," rather than of "Jews." (An "Israeli" could also be a Muslim citizen of the State of Israel!)[5]

The dislike for the Israelites in Medieval society thus had four roots: (1) The accusation of having demanded Christ's death, (2) their exclusiveness and refusal to "mix" in any way with Christians, (3) their strangeness expressed in clothing, rituals, lifestyle, linguistic particularities, and (4) the fact that they alone were permitted to lend money on interest. One became indebted to these unattractive strangers and hated them also for this very reason.[6]

Hebrews in the Middle Ages

The social situation of the Hebrews during the Middle Ages would have been quite good if they had not suffered the hatred and vicious aggressiveness of the common man, while intellectuals (mostly in Holy Orders), ecclesiastic hierarchs, the high nobility and monarchs as well as princes had frequently "commerce" and sometimes a legal relation with them.[7]

Guido Kisch, in his monumental *The Jews in Medieval Germany*[8] tells us, that the position of the Hebrews declined towards the end of the Middle Ages, when the right to bear arms was gradually taken away from them. The pretext was that they were legally well protected. The *Wergeld* for killing a Jew was as high as for killing a priest.[9] In the high Middle Ages Israelites often sent an armed battalion with the other citizens to lay siege to the castle of a robber baron.

The Ghetto, needless to say, was a privilege. It had complete self-government.

The Ghetto, needless to say, was a privilege. It had complete self-government. And a real Hebrew culture developed on the European Continent in the form of very fine arts and crafts,[10] music, song, literature, and, above all, of theology and even philosophy. Conversions of Hebrews were not as frequent as in this century, though they happened, above all, in Spain among the "Sephardim." But whenever an Israelite accepted our Faith, the whole city celebrated. Let us not forget that, for instance, the Counterpope Anaclet II was "The Pope from the Ghetto," which is also the title of the novel of Gertrud von Lefort, dealing with this Cardinal. His brother Pietro Leoni is one of the many ancestors of all European royal families.[11]

The Israelites faced two menaces. Riotous, even murderous aggressions were not rare in the Middle Ages, since, as we know by missionary experience, the moral Christianization is a very slow process. And then we saw mass expulsions, usually due to popular pressures on rulers or bishops governing bishoprics. To highly placed persons without prejudices (including many popes) the Hebrews were often very useful, not only as bankers, but also as doctors, ophthalmologists, intellectual aides, and political advisors.

There were only two Ghettoes that did not suffer from the populace: the one in Rome and the other one in Papal Avignon. As a matter of fact, medieval Hebrews believed in a myth according to which Saint Peter had absolved himself secretly of his allegiance to Christianity and had remained a believing Jew. "*Peter*" means in Hebrew the "Absolver" and the legend implied that the first Holy Father and all his successors had remained loyal to their original faith.

Hebrews and Poles

The lack of security, which, above all, the German Jews experienced, persuaded King Casimir the Great of Poland to invite them to

[5]In Austria-Hungary their official name was "Israelites," their religion (on the school report cards) "Mosaic." In Italy they were officially "Hebrews" and so in Russia. (Zhid was only used pejoratively.)

[6]Taking interest, "usury," was forbidden to Catholics and the ban was lifted *formally* only in 1918, in the new *Codex Juris Canonici*. Hebrews could ask interest or take interest only from Gentiles.

[7]As *Kameralknechte* they often became something like financial agents of aristocrats and assumed their names. Many "typically" Jewish names are those of minor ruling families. "Wittgenstein" would be such a case. It is the name of a Hebrew and a princely family.

[8]Cf. Guido Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany* (Chicago University Press: Chicago, 1942).

[9]The Wergeld compensated for manslaughter, not for murder.

[10]Only decorative painting was permitted to them by their religion. Hebrews, so outstanding in the fine arts, have even today a relatively minor record in painting.

[11]Cf. Otto Forst de Battaglia, *Das Geheimnis des Blutes* (Vienna: Reinhold Verlag, 1932), p. 116. Yet other interesting ancestors of European royalty and aristocracy are Muhammad, Jenghiz-Khan, Moctezuma, and St. Elizabeth.

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come (with Christian Germans) to largely agrarian Poland in order to build and inhabit cities. (This is the reason why "Eastern Jews" speak "Yiddish," which is largely medieval German.) In Poland, too, they were given self-government, the *Kahal*. They did not live in formal Ghettoes, but drew together because on Sabbaths they were not permitted to take more than 2000 steps and thus had to be near to the *Shul*, the synagogue. The whole interesting culture of the *Shtetl* has been destroyed in World War II. These immigrants were originally well treated and when they converted to the Catholic Faith they were, as "relatives of the Lord," immediately nobilitated. Christian influences on East European "Jewry"? Undoubtedly in Chasidimism which is really a "religion of love" and most touching to us Christians. See the accounts of Jiri Langer.

The Middle Ages, however, saw two big cases of Hebrew expulsion. The first happened in England in 1290 and Spain copied this in 1492, but the results were not the same. In the case of Spain only about one third really left, the rest accepted (sincerely or outwardly) baptism which means that between 200,000 and a quarter million stayed on.[12] (Those who secretly continued to practice their original faith created a problem for the Inquisition, whereas non-Christians remained outside its jurisdiction.) The number of outstanding Spaniards of recent or remote "Sephardic" (Hebrew) ancestry is legion. Among them are the Great Saint Teresa, Saint John of God, Jaime Lainez (the Second General of the Jesuits), Luis Vives, the Franco family[13] and so forth. In 1930 there were only about 800 Hebrews left in Spain, today there are 13,000, many of them saved by the Franco government, which gave citizenship to all the descendants of those expelled in 1492.[14]

The status of Hebrews in Islamic countries was often pitiful.

Many people believe that the Hebrews had it better under Muslim rule, yet their status in Islamic countries was often pitiful. Persecutions often took place and Moses Maimonides, the great philosopher-theologian, who also influenced our Scholastics, had to flee Andalusia and went to Egypt which practiced greater tolerance.

The Enlightenment

A real change in the situation of the Israelites came with the First Enlightenment which weakened the religious fervor in Christianity as well as in Judaism. (The French Revolution, however, viewed orthodox Judaism with the same disdain as Christianity.) Sincere as well as half-hearted conversions became more frequent.[15] The walls were crumbling. Yet, as anti-Christian forces too increased, a number of Hebrews remembering their lowly status in a more intensively Christian society of the past, only too frequently sided with the anti-Christian forces. Europe underwent in the 19th century the change from a vertical to a horizontal order. Too many "enlightened," progressive, emphatically non-orthodox Israelites became enthusiastic about democracy which spoke the language of equality, of a sectarian liberalism, which extolled "liberty," and of socialism, which promised a total social leveling. Much of this "leftism" is, in fact, "secularized Christianity" which as "half truth" harbors particular dangers and illusions. Freemasonry offers an excellent example.[16] For all this, many Hebrews were willing to give up not only their faith, but also their real identity. As one can imagine; not a few Europeans therefore became increasingly "anti-Jewish" in a political rather than social or religious reaction.

Setting the Scene for Disaster

It is in the second half of the 19th century that slowly the scene was set

[12]Cf. Bartolome Bennassar, *L'Inquisition espagnole aux XV-XIX siecles* (Paris: Machette, 1979), Ch. 5.

[13]I wrote a lengthy article on the aid Franco had given to the Sephardic communities abroad–from France to Greece. I tried in vain to place it in American Hebrew periodicals, although the "Jewish World Congress" in a session (Atlantic City, November 1944) thanked Franco for having saved innumerable Hebrew lives. The article finally appeared in *The Catholic World* (New York) and in *Études* (Paris).

[14]A law signed by King Alfons XIII and the Dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera in 1924 offered citizenship to all descendants of the expellees of 1492. (Mark the exchange of the same ciphers!)

[15]In 1938 there were in Vienna alone 12,000 Catholics of pure Hebrew origin.

[16]Cf. Edmund Silberner, *Sozialisten zur Judenfrage* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1962). In 1938 Walter Duranty wrote from Paris that an alliance between Berlin and Moscow was very likely, because Stalin, after all, had already killed more Hebrews than Hitler. The *New York Times* omitted this line in its October 11th edition.

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for the disaster, which not much later struck the Hebrews, the believing, the half-believing, and the non-believing alike. It would probably not have happened if they had stuck to their religion and certainly not if the Christians had done the same. The outstanding historian Golo Mann (son of Thomas) had stated that Auschwitz had ripped off the mask of our godlessness. The deadly road to the extermination camps of the National Socialists had become a reality due to a combination of "populism," rooted in the French Revolution, and the biologism of Darwin, to whom a (not really converted) Hebrew, Karl Marx, had wanted to dedicate *Das Kapital.* (Darwin rejected the offer.)

It also must be realized that the Hebrews had entered "Gentile" society to a remarkable degree, in Europe much more so than in the U.S.A. as I knew it before World War II. Being intelligent and quickwitted, but also industrious and ambitious, they had made headway in many directions–and also materially. In an increasingly horizontal and democratized society this created an enormous amount of pure envy and in democratic politics nothing is as successful and effective as the *exploitation of envy.* It is the main key in party politics. There is no doubt that "anti-Semitism" *would never have had such a success among the masses if the Israelites had been lazy, stupid, and poor.* Therefore the democratic frame in the political area was one in which they were bound to be the losers.

In democratic politics nothing is as successful and effective as the *exploitation of envy.*

They should have learned the lesson that monarchs, princes, aristocrats, bishops, and popes had been their protectors and that the common man their "born enemy," especially in the urban, rather than in the agrarian ambiance. This fact is also quite evident in Socialist ranks.[17] Francis Joseph, Emperor and King, denounced "anti-Semitism" in a letter to his Empress in the most ringing words. Count Heinrich Coudenhove-Kalergi, father of Richard, the founder of PanEuropeanism,[18] Count Adalbert Sternberg, great Austrian monarchist leader, Archduke Otto of Austria, the former Crown Prince honored by B'nai B'rith, they all defended the Hebrews. In Imperial Austria we had a Prince-Archbishop Kohn, but on the other hand also an Adolf Hitler, who won in Germany his power "democratically" in free elections. (Bruning wanted to prevent this take-over by restoring the German monarch[19] and General von Schleicher, murdered in 1934 by the SS, with a military dictatorship.) Only the forces of tradition and reaction could have saved the Israelites,[20] but too many of them–repeatedly–backed the wrong horse. They had actually helped to saw off the branch on which (unknowingly, although not comfortably) they had been sitting.

The truly bright ones however knew better. Friedrich Julius Stahl, a baptized Hebrew, was the brilliant founder of Prussian Conservatism and Hans-Joaschim Schoeps its non-baptized gifted renovator.

The notion, that Hebrews "naturally" embrace a leftist ideology is nonsense. Disraëli (Lord Beaconsfield) had become a Christian, but was proud of his ancestry and gave to British conservatism its profile. The most staunchly anticommunist American periodical during the Soviet honeymoon 1941-46 was *The*

[17]The membership of the Austrian Freemasonry was (unlike that of Northern Europe or America) largely Hebrew. Originally Freemasonry had not been as anti-Catholic as it became during the 19th century. This is a long story upon which we cannot enlarge in this essay. Count Joseph de Maistre, a most pious Catholic and one of the staunchest Conservatives had been a freemason–but ages ago. His book *Du Pape* is still a classic.

[18]Count Heinrich Coudenhove-Kalergi, who wrote "anti-anti-Semitic" essays, was the father of Richard, founder of the Paneuropean Union Movement, now bearing its fruits, and the brilliant Catholic writer Ida Corres, a woman of rare genius.

[19]William II befriended the very bright industrialist Rathenau (later murdered by crazy "Rightists") and told him: "Rathenau, Rathenau, get yourself baptized and I'll make you reserve officer in my elite guard corps!" Yet Rathenau rejected the offer. Another Hebrew friend of the Kaiser, the big ship owner Albert Ballin, committed suicide the very day William abdicated.

[20]Only in the old vertical order could they find their "niche," not in the new horizontality so many of them had favored. Parliamentary democracy implies not only majority rule but also populism and constant change. Jacob Burckhardt told us in 1878: "Now that politics rests on the process of inner fermentation, all security has come to an end." How fatal this was to "Jewry" I explained in a Sabbath sermon in the world's largest synagogue, in New York's Temple Emanu-El. I also cited Winfried Martini who wrote that in our century the outcry should have resounded: "Woe to the minorities!" Talking afterwards to the audience in the reception line I received an enthusiastic assent.

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New Leader, run almost exclusively by sons of Abraham. Of course, the vast majority of the masses everywhere is politically ignorant. Politics today requires (theoretically and practically) a simply immense amount of knowledge as well as skill–which can only be acquired and mastered in rare cases. Andrew Jackson thought differently and declared statecraft to be manageable by every mentally sound person. Yet think about the fatal mess perpetrated by Allied "statesman" in 1919!

National Socialism

Thus a real change had come through materialistic biologism. Hitler stated that National Socialism (which was not only nationalistic but also racist) was in fact "a people's movement based on exact science." David Gasman has produced an excellent book on the background of this statement.[21] Theodore Herzl in his younger years had proposed to solve Vienna's "Jewish Problem" by herding all the Hebrews of the Austrian metropolis into St. Stephen's Cathedral to be baptized collectively. But as a Paris correspondent of a Vienna daily he witnessed the Dreyfus Trials[22] and completely changed his mind. "Anti-Semitism" was now racist and no longer in any way religious. Herzl, therefore, founded Zionism.

Emigrating to a specific country and there to form a "national state" was, in Herzl's mind, the only solution of the "problem." Originally he thought about various colonies,[23] but then the Turkish Sultan, looking for an element to stave off Arab nationalism, egged him on to choose Palestine, certainly the most neuralgic geopolitical spot on the world map. Needless to say, the very idea to give the Hebrews a chance to form a nation is a good one. The accusation that Israelites can flourish only as parasites of other nations can thereby be refuted. Certainly the achievement of the Israelis is most impressive. Unfortunately they have ignored Herzl's advice to avoid democracy, which fosters the instability of this new nation and all relations with its neighbors.

The achievement of the Israelis is most impressive. Unfortunately they have ignored Herzl's advice to avoid democracy.

Yet how was the *Shoah* possible? (We do not write "Holocaust," which some Hollywood jerk has used on account of its hollow sound to stand for mass-murder. It was a term employed by the ancient Greeks for pious sacrifices to gain favors from their gods and also reappears in the New Testament.) In a way, the Shoah came most "naturally" and should not have surprised anybody in our godless age. Genesis 8:21 says in so many words that "from his childhood onwards the heart of man is tending towards evil." And Maritain told us that this world is God's, Man's, and Satan's. There is no reason why an "unpopular" human group should not be exterminated–if they do not believe a divine command condemns such an action. The "Natural Law"? One might also say "dog eats dog," but why should I follow the Natural Law if God's Word does not command me to do so? Far too many people thought that Charles Darwin had laid down the Natural Law, yet Darwinism is today scientifically obsolete and it is, moreover, unacceptable to Christians, because it makes man a mere result of unbelievable coincidence. We have other evolutionary theories tallying with Christian doctrine.[24]

There exists the extremely silly accusation against the Papacy that it could have prevented *Shoah*. This perfidy rests on a mountain of ignorance and thinly veiled hatreds. Much of this argument is based on the widespread belief that the Catholic

[21]Cf. Daniel Gasman, *The Scientific Origins of National Socialism: Social Darwinism in Ernst Haeckel und the German Monist League* (New York: American Elzevir, 1971).

[22]The Dreyfus Case is the "Original Sin" of French Rightism. William II who knew of the captain's innocence asked desperately his grandmother, Queen Victoria, what he should do about it. Telling the truth (coming from him!) would have worsened the chances of the accused. I met one of his relatives, Professor François-Georges Dreyfus, a brilliant *Lutheran* theologian.

[23]These colonies were Uganda, Madagascar, and British Guayana. Only the last would have made sense–a bad climate, but 83,000 square miles and an extremely mixed population–then–of only 120,000 souls and no geopolitical significance.

[24]In a very large anti-Darwinist literature we would like to mention Remy Chauvin, *Dieu des fourmis, Dieu des Etoiles* (Paris: Le Pre sur clercs, 1986).

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Church is "powerful." *It never was.* The words of St. Augustine were always true: *et paupera et inops est ecclesia!*

The Church was always as powerful as the state permitted it to be. The Inquisition? A *state* institution in a few countries, to which the Church unfortunately lent her experts. Canossa? The humiliation of Henry IV was only due to the menacing pressure of the German princes. Gregory VII died with the words of the Psalmist on his lips: "*Dilexi iustitiam et odi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio.*"

In other words: without the secular sun shining on the ecclesiastic moon, there is no moonlight. How often was the Pope beleaguered in Hadrian's Castle? How often was he practically a prisoner: in Avignon, in Savona, in Fontainebleau? What about the mob which in 1878 nearly threw the coffin with the remains of Pius IX into the Tiber? Pius XII never forgot the Hebrews and did a *tremendous amount* for them secretly.[25]

When the bishops of the Netherlands protested against the deportation of the Israelites, the National Socialists deported more than 400 Catholics of Hebrew origin and had them butchered in Auschwitz, Edith Stein among them.[26] Any public intervention of Pius XII would have resulted in a speeding up of the extermination process. (The National Socialists never jailed bishops, as Bismarck did. Simple clerics and lay people had to pay for the "courage" of bishops!) The vain protest of Pius XII would have earned him the applause of idiots and added suffering in millions.

What Is To Be Done?

The Hebrew tragedy was, in a way, inevitable. Plato, disciple of Socrates, a fervent antidemocrat, told us that democracy automatically develops into tyranny, and when democracy returned to Athens, Aristotle fled immediately to avoid the fate of Socrates.[27] The Christian guilt in Shoah itself does not exist, although Catholics through the ages have behaved frequently to Hebrews in a most un-Christian manner, but Hebrews have also actively militated against Christianity. This begins with the *Toledoth Jeshu* in the Talmud. There were Hebrews in the last 150 years who had broken with their faith and have fought Christianity in a variety of ways. I would like to mention only one of them: Moses Uritzki, head of the Petrograd "Cheka," a real butcher. Yet he was killed by a Hebrew student, Kannegiesser, who considered him as a blot on the Israelitic name.

The Church was always as powerful as the state permitted it to be.

What should be done? We could only give an answer as far as the two faiths are concerned. We have to see in the Hebrews our spiritual ancestors. Pius XI told us that we are spiritually Semites. There are, obviously, more Christians than Israelites who read the Old Testament. We differ sometimes with our parents, but we cannot reject them. More than that: we have to honor and love them. Hebrews, on the other hand, must at long last acknowledge the fact that we are—spiritually—their offspring, their children. With them they might very seriously disagree, but they have to keep in mind that the only great success story of the Israelites is, after all, Christianity. And Auschwitz surely could not have happened in the Holy Roman Empire. There they venerated Mary, Queen of Heaven, praised in the Lauretanic Litany as *Turris Davidica*, Tower of David.

In a truly Christian society (which we still do not have), there ought to be a secure place for our aged parents. Can they still give us something spiritually? Certainly. One also ought to know better the

[25]There is the excellent book by the well known Hebrew professor Pinchas E. Lapide, *Rom und die Juden* (Freiburg i. Br. "Herder, 1967.) (There are English translations of his words). The accusations came all *after* the Pope's death, so that he could not defend himself.

[26]Auschwitz started out as an extermination camp for the upper layers of Polish society—paralleling Katyn. The Hebrews arrived in large numbers only after 1941. We also have to ask, how many of the victims later on were Christians of Hebrew descent. Nor should we forget the preceding mass slaughter of the mentally ill—perhaps as many as a quarter million, as well as the millions butchered now in their mothers' wombs.

[27]The political background of the Socrates trial can be learned from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1911 and also from the newest edition. Socrates quoted Homer against democracy. He verified prophetically the statement of Allan Bloom that the great European thinkers were always men of the Right. Cf. his *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), p. 223-4. Freud, greatly misunderstood, was also politically a man of the Right. He thanked, moreover, Christianity for having, at the end of Antiquity, saved Eros, then in danger of being overwhelmed by sexuality.

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great Hebrew minds of our century—men like Leo Baeck, whom I have known, Martin Buber, Franz Rosenzweig, and many others. In our relations throughout the ages there is a mystery whose very nature remains still veiled to us. One day the veil will fall.

And in a faithless culture and civilization turning away from God? Mere Semites facing mere Gentiles? What then? For the solution of such a problem we cannot see an answer. RRR

Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn—famed political scientist, historian, linguist, and painter, and a hereditary knight of the Holy Roman Empire—is the author of, among a host of other works, *Leftism From deSade to Hitler*, *Liberty or Equality?*, and *The Menace of the Herd*. He spoke at the 1997 *Triple R* conference.

THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL DESPAIR

Paul Gottfried

In a book by that title published thirty-five years ago, a German leftist émigré historian, Fritz Stern, tried to locate a connection between cultural pessimism among German intellectuals and receptiveness to Nazi rule. Stern never demonstrated the alleged link and ended up sketching the lives of three isolated reactionary social critics. But the connection he highlighted was true up to a point.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, social-cultural reactionaries were typically political authoritarians. Because they distrusted human nature and feared the transforming power of a market economy, such conservatives believed that state coercion was necessary for civilized life. Until the twentieth century state-worship could be found in Europe primarily on the right, which associated individualism with social breakdown.

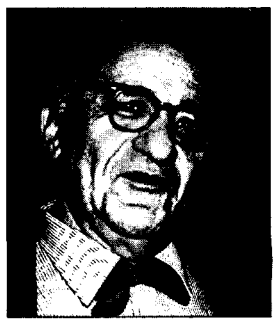
Moreover, most libertarians of my youth did not seem truly "conservative," even if they wisely opposed the welfare state. From my perspective, such people trusted excessively in individual appetite and will. And libertarians had no problem allowing flagrant vice to be committed by individuals, in opposition to those who (like myself) believed in the suppression of social vice. True, there were theorists, like Murray Rothbard, Lew Rockwell and Gary North, who tried to combine libertarian politics with traditional social morality. But for me and other social reactionaries, such efforts were strictly theoretical, and my view as a young man of most libertarians was one of pot-smoking social deviants.

As a young man, I saw most libertarians as pot-smoking social deviants.

While such ideologues talked about lifestyles rights and economic deregulation, they shared with leftist social engineers a revolutionary attitude toward social institutions. They also typically identified past states, even conservative ones, with the present U.S. government, and hoped to build a society based entirely on individual interests. Such libertarians seemed invariably optimistic, believing that citizens, who were really only collections of individuals, would overthrow the modern welfare state once properly "informed."

At a Liberty Fund Conference on Hegel, Locke, and civil society, held in Charleston in January, I encountered scholars who were libertarians for genuinely reactionary reasons. Such self-described opponents of government as Tristam Engelhardt, Jr., of Baylor and Gerald McKenny of Rice, took libertarian stands not on the basis of faith in the market but out of deep social desperation. Contemporary administrative-therapeutic government seemed for them not a continuation of a traditional, limited nation state but an intrusive,

Dean of the Austrian School of economics, American historian, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926–1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *Triple R*—founded as the *Rothbard–Rockwell Report*—is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.



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global revolutionary force. The comparison which kept coming up in our talks was between the present system and human evil as conceived by traditional Protestants.

Whatever our administrators, social workers, and judges reach out to touch, they infect with their corrupt power lust and contempt for traditional institutions. If social problems do abound, one cannot trust "our" government to act with decent motives or to do even very limited good to remove them. Everything will turn out like the "war against drugs" or the governmentally-pursued crusade against "discrimination" was the argument that I keep hearing during our discussions.

"With the government we now have," explained Professor Engelhardt, who has distinguished himself as a Latinist, Hegel-scholar, and Orthodox theologian, "it is better spiritually to let people buy heroin from a dispensary than permit the regime to stop them." McKenny, a Protestant theologian who discoursed eloquently on original sin, expressed equal skepticism about the modern state's interest in curbing vice. "It normalizes perverse behavior, and makes war on traditional social relations."

One cannot trust "our" government to act with decent motives or to do even very limited good.

There were Lockeans at the conference, typified by Linda Raeder of the Catholic University of America and Juliana Pilon (formerly of Heritage), who kept warning against the danger of non-individualist social thought. The relative lack of individualism in the Hegelian conservatism presented at the conference was seen by these critics to foster traditional statism, marked by the subordination of the individual to a collective good. "Unless we do teach social contract views," explained Mrs. Pilon, "it may be hard to bring Eastern Europeans over to democratic capitalism."

Supposedly it was easier to convert Eastern Europeans to what Americans had become politically if we urged them to think of themselves as acquisitive individuals. And though it may not have been entirely Locke's intention to have people regard themselves in this way, to whatever extent they did it would be easier to make over their societies. While our side conceded that our intentions were different, we also took pains to underline our reasons for not seeking to convert everyone to "our system."

We were not defending the inventions of the American political class and indeed rejected those "human rights" doctrines invoked to justify liberal-neocon imperialism. The point that became increasingly clear was that we alleged celebrants of authoritarian societies were also the most hostile to the present welfare state. And, unlike Cold War liberals, we were contemptuous of any celebration of the American empire as a combination of humanitarianism and traditional statecraft, according to the interpretations of George Will and the *Weekly Standard*. In short, the most extreme libertarians, as I discovered to my astonishment, were the practitioners of the politics of cultural despair. RRR

BIMBO KRAKATOA

Michael Levin

According to the conventional wisdom, Bill Clinton has only himself to blame for the bimbo Krakatoa that erupted in late January. Conventional wisdom doesn't know how right it is. The latest sex scandal is the triumph of the very ideas he and Hillary have championed their entire adult lives.

The immediate source of Clinton's trouble was word of his receipt of sexual favors from White House intern Monica Lewinsky, right in the Oval Office. But that is not where they began. "Fornigate" became the big news it did because he urged her to lie about the affair, and he urged her to lie because she was about to be deposed by lawyers for Paula Jones in *Jones v. Clinton*. That case is the source of all his woe.

Send your mind back to an Arkansas hotel in 1991, when our pants-dropping hero, then governor, asked low-level state employee Paula Jones for a sexual act. Appalled and embarrassed, she sued. As this is written Clinton still denies extending any such invitation, but nobody believes him about anything anymore; his own deposition in *Jones*–there it is again–admits an extramarital affair with Gennifer Flowers that he denied on national

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television during the 1992 presidential campaign.

Now, the most odious aspect of the hotel incident was Clinton's using a state trooper as a procurer to summon Miss Jones to his room, but her complaint had nothing to do with that. Rather, she charged "sexual harassment."

"Sexual harassment" is a distinctively feminist tort, but there is no point trying to understand it in terms of feminism's incoherent, self-contradictory ideology. Better to look at it as expressing the emotional core of feminism, namely man-hating and rage at the attraction between men and women. It is not by chance that the most prominent feminists have been lesbians (from Kate Millett to, it now turns out, Angela Davis) or barren hags. In this company, Hillary with her one daughter is mother of the year.

Everything feminists say or do is meant to blunt the male. By frantically denying sex differences, they hoped to make women more aggressive, which would of course confuse and alienate men. Yet at the very same time that feminists pronounced women as tough as men, fully up to ground combat, they shrieked that women need protection from men, not just at home–by rape crisis centers, censorship, and laws against "marital rape"–but in the workplace as well, where the predatory male's chief interest is extorting sex.

The federal government complied, intervening in the name of civil rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, a curtailment of free association with no constitutional basis–it allegedly fell under the commerce clause–had forbidden sex discrimination in the workplace. During the 1980s a quantum leap was taken, to the idea that sexual interest in itself can be discriminatory. A proposition, an unwelcome remark, a girly calendar in a locker, signal male dominance, thereby creating a "hostile environment" that disadvantages women on the basis of their sex. Infringements of the right to be free of harassment create liability for large fines and damages.

The sky is the limit on what can get you sued. A boss who gracefully accepts a rebuff from a female may nonetheless be a harasser, because she may fear retaliation. A boss dating a willing subordinate may be harassing all the females he *didn't* ask out, disadvantaging them on the basis of their insufficient sexual attractiveness. Does a boss dating his secretary also discriminate against all her male co-workers, since he will not ask any of them out because of their sex? Where does homosexuality fit in? Stay tuned; in the next year or so the Supreme Court will be addressing cases that raise these questions.

Nobody has a God-given right to a job under terms her employer won't accept.

Feminists love those warnings against sexual harassment that most organizations display to protect themselves legally. These conspicuous postings help chill the spontaneous interest men and women take in each other. But they are not needed, since women can repel any unwelcome advance with a firm No, and quit any boss who makes sex a condition of employment. The latter may be a hard choice, but it takes two to do the employment tango. Nobody has a God-given right to a job under terms her employer won't accept. As for public employees, they are supposed to perform a small number of duties with as little cost to the taxpayer as possible: personal behavior is otherwise irrelevant.

Harassment law is as improper in procedure as substance. Its rules of discovery allow dredging up almost anything in a man's past to establish a "pattern" of harassment. (Again courtesy of feminist-influenced legislatures and courts, men accused of rape cannot cite an alleged victim's sexual history.) And it was on a fishing expedition under these rules that Paula Jones's lawyers netted Monica Lewinsky. When asked under oath she swore she had not had an affair with Clinton, but afterwards confessed to her friend Linda Tripp, secretly taping the conversation, that she had lied at Clinton's behest. Tripp in turn gave the tapes to the Office of Independent Counsel, looking into other shady aspects of Clinton's past. Suddenly Clinton was not just fibbing but suborning perjury.

In other words, every one of Clinton's problems was caused by a feminist law that should not exist. The beauty part, of course, is that Clinton himself has been an ever-loyal champion of feminism. He proudly announces his intention to pass over white males whenever possible. He adamantly protects abortion and abortion funding. He is unyielding on quotas. He wants to spend $21 billion more on day-care

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centers. He wants homosexuals in the military, and anti-discrimination privileges for homosexuals. He has never met a civil right, multi culture, or diversity he didn't like.

It's no surprise, then, that, despite his user's attitude toward women, Clinton's most reliable allies are feminists. They have ignored Paula Jones, even though she would seem to be a poster girl for all that they say is wrong with society. Incredibly, Gloria Steinem has defended Clinton on the grounds that he has never actually forced himself on anyone: "He takes no for an answer." As for Monica Lewinsky, she was old enough to "say yes or no." That's absolutely right, Gloria—so why are there laws on the books against asking women for a yes?

There is also a racial angle. The most racially partisan president in American history, Clinton pushes a monologue on race that recycles every canard about white males, and shamelessly hectors whites who disagree. He is seen in public much more frequently with black children than white ones, although he sent Chelsea to private school instead of a D.C. public school. He ostentatiously parades Vernon Jordan as his best friend. He watches the Superbowl with Jesse Jackson. And blacks, like feminists, have reciprocated.

When Hillary visited a daycare center in Harlem—where else?—just after word of the affair with Lewinsky broke, blacks cheered her and intimidated reporters. One woman said, "Just because he can't keep his zipper zipped, that doesn't make him a bad president." Very possibly, blacks don't see what the fuss is about because Clinton's behavior resembles that of many black men.

Ah yes, the First Lady. It's impossible to be sure from the outside what a public person is like, or what goes on inside a marriage, so here I have to speculate. But from all appearances Hillary's a rum 'un. Makes Lady Macbeth seem diffident. My guess is that she sticks around when the average woman would have packed her bags long since because she remains what she has been since her days at Yale Law School, a charter member of the feminist coven, and Bill is giving her what she wants. Not her emotional wants, mind you, but her ideological ones, namely daycare centers, quotas, socialized medicine, and the rest of the egalitarian agenda.

Ah yes, the First Lady.

Far from wishing to retaliate for his adulteries, she defends him with considerable energy and acting skill. Well, what about her personal feelings? Doesn't she mind being humiliated? In my experience, people like Hillary don't have much in the way of wants or needs apart from their ideological ones. For them, the "personal" really is the political. Of course, I could be half-wrong: Hillary may maintain her charade until Bill leaves office, then divorce him in a flash.

This line of speculation leads to the stickiest aspect of Fornigate, but one that must be discussed if men are to be adequately defended against feminist lies. While Chelsea wasn't brought by the stork, I'll offer long odds that there has been no First Sex Life for quite a while.

Dick Morris, Clinton ex-spinmeister and foot fetishist, suggested in a radio interview that Bill strays because Hillary is, shall we say, heterosexually challenged. Certainly, if there were any feelings left between Bill and her, he would not have "hit on" so many women—hundreds, he told Monica Lewinsky.

But we must not say, as Lieutenant Renault does of Rick in *Casablanca*, that Clinton is like all men, only more so. That would be another feminist canard; Clinton is not like other men.

First, he seems something of a pervert. The desire he expressed in both the Jones and Lewinsky encounters was for a particularly narcissistic (and by Freudian lights infantile) type of gratification. Is this habit a form of arrested development?

Second, the typical man in a position like Clinton's—no longer young, with a family, in a responsible position—is uninterested in extramarital dallying. Any lust he may experience toward other women is cooled by thought of the consequences of acting on it. The duty to keep marriage vows aside, he wishes not to hurt his wife, or his children, or the organization he is part of. True, men in joyless marriages—far fewer than the media's relentless anti-marriage propaganda lets on—may fall into an affair, and then only one or a very few over many years. Even the most sexually frustrated husband, as we may suppose Clinton to be, does not just grab women who walk into the room, as Clinton has been known to do. The malicious picture of men that feminists have made the norm actually applies to very few, one of whom is their patron, President Bill. RRR

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